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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 105 [252] Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 [103] [252] The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the different members of the family to one another. The shepherd husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife for the simple but to him very important attentions which he associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ) is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit and eat together. For in this most private situation, the relationship of mutual identification between the members of the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this protection and support. The most general of these obligations is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

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252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into: Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

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585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

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The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to the women.

We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,

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postulate of representation.

Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be loitering about in the vicinity. (16)

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

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The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

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After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat, and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one

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chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.